

# Technology Platform Governance in Global Perspective

Spring 2025

Professor Julie E. Cohen

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## Syllabus

### Class 1 (Jan. 13): Introduction to Platforms and Platform Governance

#### Required Reading:

- Andreas Hein, et al., “[Digital Platform Ecosystems](#),” 30 *Electronic Markets* 87 (2020).
- Anne Helmond, “[The Platformization of the Web: Making Web Data Platform Ready](#),” 1 *Social Media + Society* (2015).
- Julie E. Cohen, “[Platforms, Data Infrastructures, and Infrastructure Stacks](#),” in Fleur Johns, Gavin Sullivan, & Dmitri Van Den Meerssche, eds., *Global Governance by Data: Infrastructures of Algorithmic Rule* (Cambridge University Press, 2024).
- Julie E. Cohen, “[Who’s Rulin’ Who?: A review of Anu Bradford, “Digital Empires: The Global Battle to Regulate Technology” \(Oxford University Press, 2023\)](#),” *Lawfare*, Apr. 16, 2024.

#### Background Reading (optional):

- Jenna Burrell, “[How the Machine ‘Thinks’: Understanding Opacity in Machine Learning Algorithms](#),” 3 *Big Data & Society* 1 (2016).
- Marion Fourcade & Kieran Healy, “[Seeing Like a Market](#),” 15 *Socio-Economic Review* 9 (2016).
- Jathan Sadowski, “[The Internet of Landlords: Digital Platforms and New Mechanisms of Rentier Capitalism](#),” 52 *Antipode* 562 (2020) [link goes to GULC library record; log in using your netid to read].
- Julie E. Cohen, “[Law for the Platform Economy](#),” 51 *U.C. Davis Law Review* 133 (2017) [**Focus:** pp. 153-75].

### Class 2 (Jan. 27): Removal of Harmful Content [United States, Germany, Turkey, The GIFCT, European Union]

#### Required Reading:

- [47 U.S. Code § 230](#): Protection for private blocking and screening of offensive material.
- Heidi Tworek & Paddy Leerssen, “[An Analysis of Germany’s NetzDG Law](#),” Transatlantic High-Level Working Group on Content Moderation Online and Freedom of Expression, Apr. 15, 2019.
- Human Rights Watch, “[Questions and Answers: Turkey’s Control of the Internet and the Upcoming Election](#),” May 10, 2023. [**Read:** sections 3-7 only.]

- [Christchurch Call](#), May 15, 2019.
- GIFCT, "[Incident Response](#)", "[Content Incident Protocol](#)", "[Governance](#)", and "[IAC Terms of Reference](#)".
- European Parliament, Press Release, "[Security Union: Rules on Removing Terrorist Content Online Become Applicable](#)," Jun. 7, 2022.
- Dominik Arncken, et al., "[The EU Digital Services Act—Europe’s New Regime for Content Moderation](#)," *JD Supra*, Oct. 4, 2022.
- Eric Goldman, "[Content Moderation Remedies](#)," 28 *Michigan Technology Law Review* 1 (2021) [**Read: pp. 23-58 only.**].

Background Reading (optional):

- Anupam Chander, "[How Law Made Silicon Valley](#)," 63 *Emory Law Journal* 639 (2014).
- Danielle Keats Citron & Benjamin Wittes, "[The Internet Will Not Break: Denying Bad Samaritans Section 230 Immunity](#)," 86 *Fordham Law Review* 401 (2017).
- Angel Diaz & Laura Hecht-Felella, "[Double Standards in Social Media Content Moderation](#)," Brennan Center for Justice, Aug. 4, 2021.
- Natali Helberger, "[The Political Power of Platforms: How Current Attempts to Regulate Misinformation Amplify Opinion Power](#)," 8 *Digital Journalism* 842 (2020).
- Paddy Leerssen, Jef Ausloos, Brahim Zarouali, Natali Helberger, & Claes H. de Vreese, "[Platform Ad Archives: Promises and Pitfalls](#)," 8 *Internet Policy Review* (2019).
- Joao Pedro Quintais, et al., *[From the DMCA to the DSA: A Transatlantic Dialogue on Online Platform Regulation and Copyright](#)* (June 2024).
- Tech Against Terrorism, *[The Online Regulation Series: The Handbook](#)*, July 2021.

**Class 3 (Feb. 3): Amplification of Harmful Content [Myanmar, United States, Brazil]**

Required Reading:

- OECD Watch, use the drop-down buttons to skim a bit of background about the [The OECD Guidelines](#) (standards and international grievance mechanism), then go to the [complaints database page for Rohingya refugees supported by Victim Advocates International against Facebook](#), skim the page, and finally [download and read the complaint](#).
- Anthony Nadler, Matthew Crain, & Joan Donovan, "[Weaponizing the Digital Influence Machine: The Political Perils of Online Ad Tech](#)," *Data & Society*, Oct. 17, 2018. [**Read: pp. 4-18, 27-39 only.**]
- Shannon Bond & Bobby Allyn, "[How the ‘Stop the Steal’ Movement Outwitted Facebook Ahead of the Jan. 6 Insurrection](#)," *NPR.org*, Oct. 22, 2021.
- Jennifer Huddleston, "[Why the NetChoice Ruling Is a Win for Free Speech](#)," Cato Institute, July 1, 2024.
- Tom McBrien, "[In NetChoice Cases, Supreme Court Labels a Surprisingly Narrow Class of Online Platform Company Activities as Protected Expression](#)," *epic.org*, July 10, 2024.
- Deborah Brown & Maria Laura Canineu, "[Social Media Platforms Are Failing Brazil’s Voters](#)," Human Rights Watch, Oct. 22, 2022.
- Tales Tomaz, "[Brazilian Fake News Bill: Strong Content Moderation Accountability but Limited Hold on Platform Market Power](#)," 30 *Javnost - The Public* 253 (2023).

- Vittoria Elliott, “[Elon Musk Has Backed Himself into a Corner in Brazil](#),” *Wired*, Sept. 6, 2024.
- Jack Nicas & Ana Ionova, “[Elon Musk’s X Backs Down in Brazil](#),” *New York Times*, Sept. 21, 2024.

Background Reading (optional):

- “[Report of the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar](#),” Human Rights Council, United Nations, Sept. 12, 2018.
- Christopher Paul & Miriam Matthews, “[The Russian ‘Firehose of Falsehood’ Propaganda Model: Why It Might Work and Options to Counter It](#),” RAND Corporation (2016).
- Henry Farrell & Bruce Schneier, “[Common-Knowledge Attacks on Democracy](#),” Berkman-Klein Working Paper No. 2018-5 (2018).
- Julie E. Cohen, “[Infrastructuring The Digital Public Sphere](#),” *25 Yale Journal of Law and Technology* 1 (2023).
- Brazil Civil Society Organizations, “[The Role of Digital Platforms in Protecting Election Integrity in the 2022 Brazilian Election](#),” Sept. 2022.
- European Commission, [Commission Guidelines for providers of Very Large Online Platforms and Very Large Online Search Engines on the mitigation of systemic risks for electoral processes pursuant to Article 35\(3\) of Regulation \(EU\) 2022/2065](#), OJ C, C/2024/3014, Apr. 26, 2024.
- Ayelet Gordon-Tapiero, Paul Ohm, & Ashwin Ramaswami, “[Fact and Friction: A Case Study in the Fight Against False News](#),” *57 U.C. Davis Law Review* 171 (2023).

**Class 4 (Feb. 10): Remuneration to News Providers [Australia, Canada]**

Required Reading:

- Morgan Meaker, “[Australia’s Standoff Against Google and Facebook Worked—Sort Of](#),” *Ars Technica*, Feb. 27, 2022.
- Jon Porter, “[Whistleblowers Claim Facebook’s Chaotic Australia News Ban Was a Negotiating Tactic](#),” *The Verge*, May 6, 2022.
- Mike Masnick, “[Why Are People Still Blaming Facebook for Australia’s Terrible News Linking Tax Law?](#),” *TechDirt*, May 10, 2022. [Also watch the embedded video.]
- Australian Government, The Treasury, “[News Media and Digital Platforms Mandatory Bargaining Code: The Code’s First Year of Operation](#),” Consultation Paper, Nov. 2022.
- Lisa Macpherson & Morgan Wilschmann, “[Is the Australian News Media Bargaining Code Over?](#),” Public Knowledge, Oct. 30, 2024.
- Harold Feld, “[Why Canada’s C-18 Isn’t Working Out as Expected](#),” *Wetmachine*, July 24, 2023. [Use the “Continue Reading” button to read the full post.]
- Gretel Kahn, “[In Canada’s Battle with Big Tech, Smaller Publishers Are Caught in the Crossfire](#),” Reuters Inst. for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford, Nov. 7, 2023.
- Robert Whitehead, “[Canada’s Final Deal with Google on Media Payments Sets a New Standard](#),” *Digital Platform Initiative Blog*, Int’l News Media Ass’n, Dec. 17, 2023.
- Michael Geist, “[The Bill on Canada’s Digital Policy Comes Due: Blocked News Links, Cancelled Sponsorship, Legal Challenges, and Digital Ad Surcharges](#),” Sept. 25, 2024.

Background Reading (optional):

- Keach Hagey, Mike Cherney, & Jeff Horwitz, “[Facebook Deliberately Caused Havoc in Australia to Influence New Law, Whistleblowers Say](#),” *Wall Street Journal*, May 5, 2022.
- Diana Bossio, et al., “[Australia’s News Media Bargaining Code and the Global Turn Toward Platform Regulation](#),” 14 *Policy & Internet* 136 (2022).
- Pascale Chapdelaine & Jacqueline McLeod Rogers, “[Contested Sovereignities: States, Media Platforms, Peoples, and the Regulation of Media Content and Big Data in the Networked Society](#),” 10 *Laws* 66 (2021).

**Class 5 (THURSDAY, Feb. 20—GULC runs a Monday schedule today): Platform Capitalism and Personal Data [United States, European Union, Brazil]**

**Required Reading:**

- In the Matter of Facebook, Inc., U.S. Federal Trade Commission, July 24, 2019:
  - [Statement of Chairman Joe Simons and Commissioners Noah Joshua Phillips and Christine S. Wilson](#).
  - **Skim** [Dissenting Statement of Commissioner Rohit Chopra](#).
  - **Skim** [Dissenting Statement of Commissioner Rebecca Kelly Slaughter](#).
- Ariana Tobin & Ava Kofman, “[Facebook Finally Agrees to Eliminate Tool that Enabled Discriminatory Advertising](#),” *ProPublica*, Jun. 22, 2022.
- [General Data Protection Regulation](#) [Read: Arts. 5, 6, 13, 22 only]
- Verena Grentzenberg, Philipp Schmechel, & Jonas Kranz, “[CJEU’s Landmark Decision in Meta vs Bundeskartellamt](#),” DLA Piper, July 12, 2023.
- “[EDPB Publishes Urgent Binding Decision Regarding Meta](#),” European Data Protection Board, Dec. 7, 2023.
- Jens Frankenreiter, “[Is There a ‘California Effect’ in Data Privacy Law? Why the E.U. Is Not the World’s Privacy Cop](#),” *ProMarket*, Stigler Center for the Study of the Economy and the State, University of Chicago, Oct. 22, 2021.
- Bruno Ricardo Bioni & Renato Leite Montero, “[A Landmark Ruling in Brazil: Paving the Way for Considering Data Protection as an Autonomous Fundamental Right](#),” *Future of Privacy Forum*, Jun. 9, 2020.
- Arturo J. Carrillo & Matias Jackson, “[Follow the Leader? A Comparative Study of the EU’s General Data Protection Regulation’s Impact in Latin America](#),” 16 *International & Comparative Law Journal* 177 (2022) [Read: pp. 213-220, 239-249 only].

**Background Reading (optional):**

- David Lehr & Paul Ohm, “[Playing with the Data: What Legal Scholars Should Learn about Machine Learning](#),” 51 *U.C. Davis Law Review* 653 (2017).
- Lilian Edwards & Michael Veale, “[‘Slave to the Algorithm?’: Why a ‘Right to an Explanation’ Is Probably Not the Remedy You Are Looking For](#),” 16 *Duke Law & Technology Review* 18 (2017).
- Julie E. Cohen, [Between Truth and Power: The Legal Constructions of Informational Capitalism](#) (Oxford University Press, 2019) [Focus: Chapter 2: “The Biopolitical Public Domain”].
- Yeshimabeit Milner & Amy Traub, “[Data Capitalism + Algorithmic Racism](#),” *Demos*, May 17, 2021.

- Katja Langenbucher & Patrick Corcoran, “[Responsible Credit Scoring: A Lesson from Upstart.com](#),” in Emiliós Avgouleas & Heikki Marjosola, eds., *Digital Finance in Europe: Law, Regulation, and Governance* 141-180 (DeGruyter, 2022).
- Nick Couldry & Ulises A. Mejias, “[Data Colonialism: Rethinking Big Data’s Relation to the Contemporary Subject](#),” 20 *Television & New Media* 336 (2019).
- Renan Gadoni Canaan, “[The Effects on Local Innovation Arising from Replicating the GDPR into the Brazilian General Data Protection Law](#),” 12 *Internet Policy Review* (2023).

## **Class 6 (Feb. 24): Platform Capitalism and the Changing Conditions of Competition [United States, European Union]**

### **Required Reading:**

- Subcomm. on Antitrust, Commercial, and Administrative Law of the Comm. on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, “[Investigation of Competition in Digital Markets: Majority Staff Report and Recommendations](#)” (2020) [**Read:** pp. 207-56, 265-77, 318-330]
- Skim Ryan Bourne & Brad Subramaniam, “[The ‘Big Tech’ Self-Preferencing Delusion](#),” Cato Institute, Feb. 24, 2022 [**Focus** on the core arguments about what is and isn’t anticompetitive rather than on their critique of a now-dead bill].
- Chiara Farronato, Andrey Fradkin, Andrei Hagiu, & Dionne Lomax, “[Understanding the Tradeoffs of the Amazon Antitrust Case](#),” *Harvard Business Review*, Jan. 11, 2024.
- Cody Mello-Klein, “[The DOJ Wants to Force Google to Sell Chrome. What Would a Google-Less Chrome Mean for Your Browser?](#),” *Northeastern Global News*, Dec. 12, 2024.
- Matt Burgess, “[How France Tamed Google](#),” *Wired*, Aug. 2, 2021.
- Dominik Arncken, et al., “[The EU Digital Markets Act—The Holy Grail of Big Tech Regulation?](#),” *JD Supra*, Jul. 19, 2022.
- Aline Blankertz, “[The EU’s Experimental Approach in Overhauling Competition Rules](#),” Brookings TechStream, Apr. 14, 2022.
- Margarida Silva, “[Digital Markets Act: Big Tech’s Pushback Faces Up to a Bold EU](#),” SOMO, July 30, 2024.

### **Background Reading (optional):**

- Lina M. Khan, “[Amazon’s Antitrust Paradox](#),” 126 *Yale Law Journal* 710 (2017).
- Stigler Committee on Digital Platforms, “[Final Report](#),” Stigler Center for the Study of the Economy and the State, University of Chicago Booth School of Business, Sept. 16, 2019.
- Jacques Cremer, Yves Alexandre de Monjoye, & Heike Schweitzer, “[Competition Policy for the Digital Era: Final Report](#),” Directorate-General for Competition, European Commission, 2019.
- Lucy Rigby & Kio Gwilliam, “[The CMA’s Interim Report on Online Platforms and Digital Advertising](#),” Hausfeld, Mar. 3, 2020.

**No Class (Mar. 3): Spring Break.**

**Class 7 (Mar. 10): Platform Capitalism and the Changing Conditions of Labor [United States, European Union, the Philippines]**

**Required Reading:**

- Lauren Kaori Gurley, "[Internal Documents Show Amazon's Dystopian System for Tracking Workers Every Minute of Their Shifts](#)," *Vice*, June 2, 2022.
- Lauren Kaori Gurley, "[Amazon Drivers Are Instructed to Drive Recklessly to Meet Delivery Quotas](#)," *Vice*, May 6, 2021.
- Lauren Kaori Gurley, "[Amazon's AI Cameras Are Punishing Drivers for Mistakes They Didn't Make](#)," *Vice*, Sept. 20, 2021.
- "[Gig Economy Project—Uber, Drivers, and Data: Can Workers Build Data Power?](#)," *Brave New Europe*, Nov. 17, 2022.
- Ius Laboris, "[The EU Platform Workers Directive: A Further Step Forward](#)," *JD Supra*, July 5, 2023.
- Konstantina Bania, "[The Proposed Platform Work Directive and Employment Status Misclassification: Distinguishing Between Employers and Digital Labour Intermediaries](#)," *The Platform Law Blog*, July 19, 2023.
- Hannah Torregoza, "[SC Ruling on Lazada Riders a First of Many Future Victories for Gig Workers—Hontiveros](#)," *Manila Bulletin*, Jan. 23, 2023.
- Cheryll Ruth Soriano, "[Digital Platform Labor in the Philippines: Emerging Configurations and Policy Implications](#)," *5 Japan Labor Issues* 56 (2021).
- Vittoria Elliott & Tekendra Parmar, "[The Despair and Darkness of People Will Get to You](#)," *Rest of World*, July 22, 2020.

**Background Reading (optional):**

- Alexandra Mateesco & Aiha Nguyen, "[Explainer: Algorithmic Management in the Workplace](#)," *Data & Society*, Feb. 2019.
- Veena Dubal, "[On Algorithmic Wage Discrimination](#)," 123 *Columbia Law Review* 1929 (2023).
- Michael Veale, Michael 'Six' Silberman, & Reuben Binns, "[Fortifying the Algorithmic Management Provisions in the Proposed Platform Work Directive](#)," 14 *European Labour Law Journal* 308 (2023).
- Jerik Cruz & Emille de la Cruz, "[Platforming Populism: The Services Transition, Precarious Urbanization, and Digital Platforms in the Rise of Illiberal Populism in the Philippines](#)," 16 *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy, and Society* 269 (2023) [[link goes to GULC library record; log in using your netid to read](#)].
- Stefan Scmalz, Victoria Basualdo, Melisa Serrano, Kurt Vandaele, & Edward Webster, "[Varieties of Platform Unionism: A View from the Global South on Workers' Power in the Digital Economy](#)," 3 *Work in the Global Economy* 201 (2023).



## **Class 8 (Mar. 17): Internet Access, Digital Development, and Digital Sovereignty [India, Africa, Brazil]**

### Required Reading:

- Telecom Regulatory Authority of India, "[Prohibition of Discriminatory Tariffs for Data Services Regulations](#)," Feb. 8, 2016.
- Ursula Rao & Vijayanka Nair, "[Aadhaar: Governing with Biometrics](#)," 42 *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 469 (2019).
- "[The Four Pillars of India Stack: Aadhaar, UPI, eKYC, and DigiLocker Explained](#)," Hubble, Sept. 27, 2023.
- Mujib Mashai & Hari Kumar, "[Where Digital Payments, Even for a 10-Cent Chai, Are Colossal in Scale](#)," *New York Times*, Mar. 1, 2023.
- Justin Sherman, "[The Problem with India's App Bans](#)," Atlantic Council, Mar. 27, 2023.
- Toussaint Nothias, "[Facebook's Ongoing Scramble for Africa](#)," *Democracy in Africa* (2020).
- Sorina Teleanu & Jovan Kurbalija, "[Status of Internet Access and Connectivity in Africa](#)," in *Stronger Digital Voices from Africa*, Diplo (2022).
- Gordon LaForge, "[Starlink and Sovereignty](#)," *New America*, Dec. 12, 2023.
- Steve Song, "[Starlink and Inequality](#)," *Many Possibilities*, Nov. 6, 2023.
- Cecilia Rikap & Cedric Durand, "[What Brazil's Showdown with Elon Musk Was Really About](#)," *Jacobin*, Oct. 22, 2024.
- Okey Okoro Udo & Edward Perekebina Agbai, "[The Nexus Between Africanization Technology and Economic Development of African Countries](#)," 7 *World Journal of Innovation & Modern Technology* 89 (2023).

### Background Reading (optional):

- Shruthi Koratagere Anantha Kumar, et al., "[A Survey on Rural Internet Connectivity in India](#)," COMSNET 2022, Jan. 2022.
- Smriti Parsheera, "[India's Policy Responses to Big Tech: And an Eye on the Rise of 'Alt Big Tech'](#)," 18 *Indian Journal of Law and Technology* 1 (2022).
- Advox, "[Can Facebook Connect the Next Billion?](#)," *Global Voices*, July 27, 2017.
- "[Policy Brief: Monopolization of the Satellite Broadband Market](#)," Center for Journalism and Liberty, Sept. 28, 2022.
- African Union, "[The Digital Transformation Strategy for Africa \(2020-2030\)](#)."
- Senka Hadzic, "[South Africa's Digital Transformation: Understanding the Limits of Traditional Policies and the Potential for Alternative Approaches](#)," 55 *Computer Law & Security Review* 106011 (2024).
- Juan Ortiz Freuler, "[Datafication and the Future of Human Rights Practice](#)," JustLabs (2021).

## **Class 9 (Mar. 24): From the Great Firewall to the Digital Belt and Road [China, Africa]**

### Required Reading:

- Margaret E. Roberts, “[Testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission](#),” Hearing on China’s Information Controls, Global Media Influence, and Cyber Warfare Strategy, 4 May 2017.
- Aaron Klein, “[China’s Digital Payments Revolution](#),” Global China: Assessing China’s Growing Role in the World, Brookings, Apr. 2020.
- Chungheng Liu, “[Multiple Social Credit Systems in China](#),” 21 *Economic Sociology—The European Electronic Newsletter* 22 (Nov. 2019).
- Shining Tan, “[China’s Novel Health Tracker: Green on Public Health, Red on Data Surveillance](#),” Center for Strategic & International Studies, 4 May 2020.
- Ken (Jianmin) Dai & Jet (Zhisong) Deng, “[China Personal Information Protection Law \(PIPL\) FAQs](#),” Bloomberg Law, 6 Apr 2022.
- Dashveenjit Kaur, “[After Years of Dominating Facial Recognition Tech, China Is Ready to Govern It](#),” Techwire Asia, Aug. 15, 2023.
- [Listen to the podcast or read the transcript] “[Josh Chin on China’s Surveillance State](#),” Democracy Paradox, Mar. 21, 2023.
- Sangeet Paul Chaudary, “[China’s Country-as-Platform Strategy for Global Influence](#),” *Brookings TechStream*, Nov. 19, 2020.
- Tom Simonite, “[Behind the Rise of China’s Facial-Recognition Giants](#),” *Wired*, Sept. 3, 2019.
- Advox, “[How Zimbabwe Is Building a Big Brother Surveillance State](#),” Global Voices, Jan. 10, 2023.

Background Reading (optional):

- Margaret E. Roberts, “[Resilience to Online Censorship](#),” 23 *Annual Review of Political Science* 401 (2020).
- Monique Taylor, “[From Alipay to the Digital Yuan: China’s Fintech Revolution](#),” Institute for Security & Development Policy, Nov. 2023.
- Jean-Christophe Plantin & Gabriele de Seta, “[WeChat as Infrastructure: The Techno-Nationalist Shaping of Chinese Digital Platforms](#),” 12 *Chinese Journal of Communication* 257 (2019) [link goes to GULC library record; log in using your netid to read].
- Mark Jia, “[Authoritarian Privacy](#),” 91 *University of Chicago Law Review* (forthcoming 2024).
- Federico Caprotti & Dong Liu, “[Platform Urbanism and the Chinese Smart City: The Co-Production and Territorialisation of Hangzhou City Brain](#),” *GeoJournal* 87: 1559-1573 (2020).
- Joss Wright, Valentin Weber, & Gregory Finn Walton, “[Identifying Potential Emerging Human Rights Implications in Chinese Smart Cities Via Machine-Learning Aided Patent Analysis](#),” 12 *Internet Policy Review* (2023).
- Willem H. Gravett, “[Digital Neocolonialism: The Chinese Surveillance State in Africa](#),” 30 *African Journal of International and Comparative Law* 39 (2021).

**Class 10 (Mar. 31). Compute, Large Language Models, and Programmable Infrastructures [China, European Union, United States]**



#### Required Reading:

- [“President Biden Signs Sweeping Artificial Intelligence Order,”](#) Sidley, Nov. 6, 2023.
- The White House, [“Blueprint for an AI Bill of Rights,”](#) Oct. 2022 [**Read: pp. 15-22**].
- Martin Mackowski, et al., [“Key Insights on President Trump's New AI Executive Order and Policy and Regulatory Implications,”](#) Squire Patton Boggs, Feb., 10, 2025.
- EU AI Office, [“High-Level Summary of the AI Act,”](#) Feb. 27, 2024.
- Berin Martens, [“The EU AI Act: Premature or Precocious Regulation?”](#), Bruegel, Mar. 7, 2024.
- Matt Sheehan, [“China’s AI Regulations and How They Get Made,”](#) Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 10, 2023.
- Dan Milmo & Eleni Courea, [“US and UK Refuse to Sign Paris Summit Declaration on 'Inclusive' AI,”](#) The Guardian, Feb. 11, 2025.
- Jai Vipra & Sarah Myers West, [“Computational Power and AI,”](#) AI Now Institute, Sept. 27, 2023.
- Karen Hao, [“We Read the Paper that Forced Timnit Gebru Out of Google. Here’s What It Says,”](#) MIT Technology Review, 4 Dec. 4 2020.

#### Background Reading (Optional):

- Emily M. Bender, Timnit Gebru, Angelina McMillan-Major, & Shmargaret Shmitchell, [“On the Dangers of Stochastic Parrots: Can Language Models Be Too Big?,”](#) in *Proceedings of the 2021 ACM Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency* 610 (2021).
- Jennifer Cobbe, Michael Veale, & Jatinder Singh, [“Understanding Accountability in Algorithmic Supply Chains,”](#) in *Proceedings of the 2023 ACM Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency* 1186 (New York: Association of Computing Machinery).
- Johann Laux, Sandra Wachter, & Brent Mittelstadt, [“Trustworthy Artificial Intelligence and the European AI Act: On the Conflation of Trustworthiness and Acceptability of Risk,”](#) 18 *Regulation & Governance* 3 (2024).
- Joan Lopez Solano, Aaron Martin, Siddarth Peter de Souza, & Linnet Taylor, Global Data Justice Project, [Governing Data and Artificial Intelligence for All: Models for Just and Sustainable Data Governance](#), Report for the European Parliament, July 2022.
- Filippo Lancieri, Laura Edelson, & Stefan Bechtold, [“AI Regulation: Competition, Arbitrage, and Regulatory Capture,”](#) (working paper 2024).

### **Class 11 (Apr. 7). State-Platform Capitalism and Geopolitics [China, United States]**

#### Required Reading:

- Joanne E. Gray, [“The Geopolitics of ‘Platforms’: The TikTok Challenge,”](#) 10 *Internet Policy Review* (2021).
- Amy Howe, [“Supreme Court Upholds TikTok Ban,”](#) SCOTUSBlog, Jan. 17, 2025.
- Tom Gerken, Liv McMahon, & Imran Rahman-Jones, [“What Does Trump's Executive Order Mean for TikTok and Who Might Buy It?,”](#) BBC, Jan. 22, 2025.

- Anyone wanting to go down a rabbit hole (not required) on what happened vis-a-vis TikTok in the first Trump Administration and the Biden Administration should start with Wikipedia, "[Donald Trump-TikTok Controversy](#)."
- Robert D. Williams, "[Beyond Huawei and TikTok: Untangling U.S. Concerns over Chinese Tech Companies and Digital Security](#)," Working Paper for the Penn Project on the Future of U.S.-China Relations, updated Spring 2021.
- Aynne Kokas, "[Data Trafficking and the International Risks of Surveillance Capitalism: The Case of Grindr and China](#)," 24 *Television & New Media* 673 (2022).
- Alex Roberts, "[China—At-a-Glance Summary of the New Data Transfer Regime](#)," Linklaters, Jan. 9, 2023.
- Eddie Yang & Margaret E. Roberts, "[The Authoritarian Data Problem](#)," 34 *Journal of Democracy* 141 (2023) [link goes to GULC library record; log in using your netid to read].
- Gregory C. Allen, "[China's New Strategy for Waging the Microchip Tech War](#)," Center for Strategic and International Studies, May 3, 2023 [**Read: Introduction**; the rest is optional background reading].

Background Reading (optional):

- Steve Rolf & Seth Schindler, "[The U.S-China Rivalry and the Emergence of State-Platform Capitalism](#)," 55 *Economy and Space* 1255 (2023).
- Rogier Creemers, "[China's Conception of Cyber Sovereignty: Rhetoric and Realization](#)," in Dennis Broeders & Bibi van den Berg, eds., *Governing Cyberspace: Behavior, Power, and Diplomacy* 107-142 (Rowman & Littlefield, 2020).
- Christian Bueger & Tobias Liebetrau, "[Protecting Hidden Infrastructure: The Security Politics of the Global Submarine Data Cable Network](#)," 42 *Contemporary Security Policy* 391 (2021) [link goes to GULC library record; log in using your netid to read].
- Giulia Neaher, David Bray, Julian Mueller-Kaler, & Benjamin Schatz, "[Standardizing the Future: How Can the United States Navigate the Geopolitics of International Technology Standards?](#)" Atlantic Council, Oct. 14, 2021.
- Yongjin Zhang, "['Barbarising' China in American Trade War Discourse: The Assault on Huawei](#)," 42 *Third World Quarterly* 1436 (2021) [link goes to GULC library record; log in using your netid to read].

**Class 12 (Apr. 14). Platform Governance as/and Corporate Governance [United States, China]**

Required Reading:

- Lindsay Baran, Arno Forst, & M. Tony Via, "[Dual-Class Share Structure and Innovation](#)," 46 *Journal of Financial Research* 169 (2023).
- Julie E. Cohen, "[Oligarchy, State, and Cryptopia](#)" (working paper, 2025).
- Rogier Creemers & Graham Webster, "[Translation: Personal Information Protection Law of the People's Republic of China – Effective Nov. 1, 2021](#)," DigiChina, Stanford University [**Read: Art. 66 only.**]
- George Calhoun, "[The Sad End of Jack Ma Inc.](#)," *Forbes*, Jun. 7, 2021, updated Feb. 26, 2023.

- Laura He, “[China’s Crackdown on Tech Giants Is ‘Basically’ Over, Top Official Says](#),” *CNN Business*, Jan. 9, 2023.
- Ryan McMorrow, Qianer Liu, & Cheng Leng, “[China Moves to Take ‘Golden Shares’ in Alibaba and Tencent](#),” *Financial Times*, Jan. 12, 2023.
- Yulin Sun, “[Golden Shares Reimagined: Decoding China’s Special Management Shares](#)” (Mar. 20, 2024).

Background Reading (optional):

- Gregory H. Shill, “[The Social Costs \(and Benefits\) of Dual-Class Stock](#),” 75 *Alabama Law Review* 221 (2023).

**Class 13 (Apr. 21): Student Research Paper Presentations**

- No reading assignment
- **WR (3-credit) students only**: By Thursday, Apr. 17, at 5:00 p.m., please send me a PowerPoint slide deck consisting of a cover slide and no more than three (3) additional slides